

PARTY PROBLEMS

The Senate a Dogedom of Millionaires--Monopoly is Caesar--Trusts His Empire--Militarism His Fortress

DEITY AND DEVIL IN COMBINE

Men Are Made Subjects-- Babies Sent to Factories - Labor Degraded - The Rich Growing Richer and Poor Growing Poorer.

THE CONSTITUTION IS A DEAD LETTER

MONEY MAKES PRESIDENTS-- THE BALLOT PROSTITUTED-- CLASS PRIVILEGES ON THE INCREASE.

CONSCIENCELESS COURTS,

Corrupt Legislatures--Rotten Municipalities,-- These and Many Other Questions as Vital, and Dangers as Menacing.

NOW CONFRONT EVERY LIBERTY-LOVING AMERICAN

Who Has the Manhood and Independence to Divorce Himself From His Party Gods.

If there be such a being as the Devil, and if the Devil should come to the United States, he would surely be ashamed of both of the dominant political parties.

The Republican party has degraded itself to capitalism. It has conspired with monopoly to fitch a loaf from labor, and return it a crumb.

It would corner and bottle the air if it could and sell it at ten cents a sniff.

The Republican party has the brains, money, and genius of organization; but is wanting in honesty and principle.

The Democratic party has a limited supply of brains, money and genius of organization; but possesses some little honesty and principle.

Both are badly infected with corruption-- the difference being that the Republican party will allow its own party to win; in the Democratic it won't.

Figures never lie, but liars figure. The campaign managers of each party engage the same clerk in the government employ to get them up a set of statistics from the same records which prove each other thieves, and liars, and to which, all the guileless old land lobsters in each party swear by.

It reminds me of the complaint:

"There's many a lobster walking the earth,
That cannot claim the sea for its birth."

There is no fact plainer than this-- both parties tell the truth about each other, and the thieves who are out, seek to displace the thieves who are in.

Parties are a necessity; and they are good or bad, just as the people who compose and officer them are good or bad.

About the closest distinction to be drawn between the two great political parties of today is the difference between a respectable thief and a damned thief.

As between the parties which rob me under the guise of virtue and respectability, and the party which robs me from pure enviousness, I choose the lesser evil; therefore I prefer the Democratic to the Republican party. I voted for Rev. Bigelow, Democratic candidate for Secretary of State, and for the rest of the candidates on the Socialistic ticket.

Wise on Socialism.
There are many people who affect to be very wise on the subject of Socialism. They are so wise that they won't inform themselves on it at all. They declare they won't have anything to do with it. They get it into their heads that Socialists want an equal division of all property.

An infidel of this stripe is exactly like a Christian who knows infidelity is all wrong, tho' he has never informed himself upon the subject, and won't have anything to do with it.

Any man of ordinary boss sense ought to know by this time, that if he be not in line with party plotters, he knows absolutely nothing at all about what he is voting for.

He ought to know that those who

do the scheming do not divulge their schemes.

He ought to know by this time that the farmer, the mechanic, the manufacturer, the miner, the preacher, the physician, the lawyer, the retail merchant, the clerk, the laborer, the men away off yonder, never come to know of their designs and methods, and rascally speculations.

Is any one such a blank fool as to maintain that more than one Republican or one Democrat in a hundred, aye, make it a thousand, knows what he is voting for? I know very well that I don't, and my opportunities for knowing are exceptional. I am located in a city governed more absolutely by a Dictator--a dictator of all parties--than any autocratic government in Europe.

Should I vote for a Democratic candidate, I haven't the least idea whether or not that candidate is a creature of the Republican boss. The bosses of both parties buy and sell, swap and exchange, and the votes of honest people count absolutely for nothing.

The boodle element in the Democratic party here, will not allow the honest element to be elected.

The honest element of the Republican party are honest only in the prejudices, and do not perceive the difference into which the Republican party has plunged into the mire of corruption.

Will you say that I have been blind all my life to the actual conditions which govern parties. I have my eyes hardly opened yet. When I knew least, I thought I knew it all. I was a Republican. Republicans could do no wrong. Democrats couldn't do right if they would try. To hell with Socialists and Populists. They ought to be penned up in Lunatic asylums.

That is where I stood, and that is about where ninety-nine out of every hundred people stand today.

They are all as wise as I was.

The advantages of living in the most corruptly governed city in America has made me a little, not much, wiser. I have earned this much, however, the schemers do not divulge their schemes to the voters, and the average voter knows about as little about what he is voting for as a pig knows about the Pentateuch.

Now here looms up a new party.

The Socialist Party.

The Democrat or Republican who don't know what he is voting for in his own party, of course knows all about this party, and immediately proceeds to damn it.

It's the same with Rationalism--in fact with every reform.

The Past is always fatalist the Future.

The hatred of Aristocracy for Democracy was never greater than the present Monopolistic hate for Social equity and justice.

"Honor bright," isn't it true that the great mass of voters blindly follow their party leaders--whether they be right or wrong?

Isn't it true that these party leaders, governed by a few monopolistic hogs set the pace, and the party pigs scamper in whatever direction the old sow leads?

This applies not only to the common voter, but even to the members of State Legislatures. In Ohio, for instance, the legislator, whether he be Republican or Democrat, when he goes up to the Capitol, at Columbus, becomes at once the minion of Hanna and Foraker, the Senatorial representatives of the corporations. If a legislator, be he Republican or Democrat, maintains an honest stand, and defies these Senatorial dictators, money will be poured into his county at the next campaign, and he remains at home--a has been, unknown, unhonored and unsung.

This is the way the honest man is silenced.

The laboring man, and by the laboring man, I mean myself, the attorney, the merchant, and the educator, as well as the man with the pick, is not represented there at all.

He isn't in it. He is never in it, only when his vote is sought. He is such a fool though, that he can't see this.

Corporations, not the Labor which makes corporations, control our legislatures.

If labor, which creates everything of use, shared rightly in the administration of government, we would not have a distinctly millionaire Senate.

There would be as many Debs and

Mitchells there as there are Elkins and Depews. Capital, and Labor would be equally represented, as they should be.

Any person who reads and observes ought to have sense enough to perceive these one-sided conditions, and standing enough to act upon them. A poor, old, blind, political fossil, wedded everlastingly to party gods is about as hopeless, deplorable and useless an instrument in the construction of just government, as the mind can imagine.

I wouldn't give a tinker's dam for the man who never smoked a cigar, never took a drink, never kissed but one woman, and who never voted but one ticket.

The man who cannot lay aside party prejudices is invariably the foot ball and plaything of the politician. In the matter of transmitting and instilling prejudices, there is no difference between politics and religion. Most people vote and pray as their daddies did.

Dead Americans.
The man who cannot give up his party for principles demanded by a progressive age, is a "dead one."

The man of today, who cannot see that both the Republican and Democratic parties have drifted far from their moorings--that they are simply out for the stuff; that love of country, stability of government, and humanitarianism are principles of the least consideration in the minds of party leaders; that neither of these parties ascend to power except by the corrupt use of money, and that they both alike are controlled by those who furnish the money--this man is also "a dead one."

The Republican party presents few of the features and principles of the Constitution. It is truckling to superstition and royalty. It sent a man of Europe to receive and bring the alabaster (Statue) to this country. This enemy of the Constitution hardly lauded the bringing of our public square.

Letting now Americans should educate their children. The present administration, has openly established diplomatic relations with the Papal pontificate. It has trampled upon one of the most vital principles of the Constitution for the Catholic vote, which now holds the balance of power.

Isn't it high time that an American party--no matter what its name, be it Socialistic or Populistic, rise up and maintain the balance of power?

The Republican party has committed itself to the money powers, and has corrupted the conscience of the voter by the use of money. It is the party of purchase, grab and steal. How long will this government last under this oligarchy?

Bad as all this is, it is little compared to the fact that we now have become

The Owners of Men.

We bought an island territory for \$20,000,000 and raked in its inhabitants as mere chattels. They are now--not sovereign citizens but subjects. At last we have struck the imperial attitude. We have subjects, bearing the same relation to our government that our forefathers bore to King George.

We have turned backward--thanks to the Republican party. The principles for which our forefathers agonized and died have been repudiated. The constitution has been undermined by plutocracy. Men, eminent in the world of letters, learning and statesmanship have denounced this outrage, but have been pood-pooded and silenced by a subservient press.

Senator Hoar loudly proclaimed in the Senate Chamber--"that if this crime against humanity was not rectified at once, the downfall of the Republic would date from the McKinley administration."

These are some of the crimes of the Republican party.

The Democratic party is but little better, and worse in some particulars. The boodle element in it, which is the controlling element will not permit the honest element to lead.

Its only redeeming features are that it has a lingering regard for the Constitution, is anti-imperialistic, anti-military and would not have the American laborer pay fifty dollars for an American made sewing machine which can be bought for twenty dollars in Italy and Spain.

It loudly proclaims itself "the party of the people," and you would think that every Democratic leader is a Jesus Christ or a George Washington come to save his country. But no sooner is he elevated to power than he drops right into the lap of the corporations, just as the Republican saints do.

No Difference in Thieves.

A Democratic President on a salary of \$50,000 a year, and with expenses almost equal to that amount, leaves his office worth from five to ten millions. In my opinion a thief is a thief, whether he steals a sheep, or millions through political intrigue. No man has a right to money he does not earn either by the product of la-

bor or thought. This is the stand of the Socialist and all he asks.

Neither party should have the cheek to boast of its superior honesty and rectitude. I have made up my mind that both tell the truth about each other--that the thieves without fight only to displace the thieves within.

In face of the fact that Grover Cleveland is a multi-millionaire--that he is reveling in luxury upon money systematically fished from the hands of toil--there are millions of Democrats who still praise his holy name, and who would put him right back in the same position again.

What hope, then, have the masses of these two corrupt machine organizations?

Fixtures in Politics.

Some of you look down upon the Socialist party. You would feel yourself contaminated to be identified with it.

Why, you don't know that you haven't the perception, humanitarianism, and political conscience required to make a Socialist. This is where you are lacking. You do not know that you are wedded to your political gods, just as the Christian bigot is wedded to his clerical gods.

I know that I will offend some Liberal brethren, whose liberality extends no farther than liberality in religion, and who have not yet escaped from the bonds of political servitude; but I stand for what I think is just and right, hoping it will be regarded with good interest.

I do not hesitate to attack even Col. Ingersoll on this point, and I do not hesitate to attack your idols.

Col. Ingersoll lived and moved in an aristocratic atmosphere. His heart went out to the religiously enslaved, but not to the economically enslaved. If he was ignorant of the situation he was to be excused. No man is supposed to know it all. He did not cover all the ground. He was not as broad in his humanitarianism as he might have been. Had I his gift of oratory, his force of utterance, his eloquence of speech, and the command of the public ear as he had, the crimes of the wage slave and the plutocrat would be pictured to the minds of men in words as bright as June sunbeams and as hot as hell.

Enslaved minds appealed to Col. Ingersoll but not enslaved bodies. He was narrowed to the one subject. Had he perceived the economic situation as Robert Burns, whose opportunities for observation were far less, and spoke out against them as Burns spoke, he would have been equally great. Burns championed the liberty of both brain and body.

I do not say this to detract in the least from the immense and incalculable services Col. Ingersoll rendered humanity, but only to show how, even men as great as he, may lack perception of vital issues. He came out for Woman's Rights but a few months before he died, and then, he repeated the sentiments which Mrs. Stanton, Anthony, Henry and a whole pack of us had been advocating for long years. He was wedded to the Republican gods just as absolutely as the Christian bigot is wedded to his clerical gods.

Let us not become politically fossilized, it should teach us ordinary mortals not to depreciate our own judgments. The broadest man may be the narrowest in some particulars, and this is being continually demonstrated in the attitude of some great minds who even spurn all information on the subject of Socialism.

Socialism is not confined to this country, but is a common brotherhood, spreading in all lands where oppression reigns. In Germany it has become a power in the Reichstag. It is revolutionizing the governments of Spain and Italy. Kings and priests stand in awe at its approach. What they hate, all good men should respect, or at least respectfully consider.

Remarkable Growth of Socialism.

Some of the figures denoting the advance of the Socialistic party in the United States are well worth considering. From \$5,000 for Debs in 1900 it has jumped to \$500,000 in 1902.

This stupendous increase in an "off year" is significant. Almost without a warning a new force appears on the political field. Socialism has taken upon itself a new strength. A general enthusiasm prevails all down the line. The people are awakening, and by this vote, have become conscious of their strength. When an oppressed people become aroused and have once felt the stimulus of organization and prospects brighten before them, it is not impossible that they may attain the balance of power within a few years, and eventually supplant one of the old parties and sweep the country.

The greatest gains made by Socialism was in Massachusetts the stronghold of Republicanism. In 1901 the vote was 10,761 against 49,000 in 1902. Socialists carried the wealthy city of Brockton and very nearly carried four or five other important cities. In 1901 the Socialist vote of Boston was 1,281 against 8,142 in 1902.

New York State made a gain of 300 per cent. The Western states also show an astounding increase. The vote in Chicago alone was 12,000 an increase of 400 per cent. The vote of Milwaukee was Republican 26,118, Democrat 20,762, Socialists 11,731.

Indiana cast 20,000 Socialist votes. In Evansville the vote jumped from 30 in 1901 to 1,500 in 1902. The cities of Ohio show a like increase. Cincinnati cast 5,673, Toledo 2,000, Cleveland 2,100, Dayton 1,541, and other cities in proportion.

The whole Socialistic vote in Ohio in 1900 was only 4,847. Even the South has awakened. Covington, Ky., shows an increase from 346 to 1,708, while its neighbor Newport shows an increase from 206 to 1,200. Lexington is still in the woods. This remarkable increase has stimulated every Socialist to fresh endeavor and preparations for the next campaign have already begun.

What is Socialism?

Simply the overthrow of economic oppression--the opposition to militarism, kinegrat, priestcraft and monopolistic injustice. It does not mean

a distribution of all property as most people seem to think, but instead a fair distribution of the wealth created by Labor which makes property.

It assumes that the man who produces something is entitled to some decent consideration from the man who produces nothing. It assumes that air, earth, light and water are the common heritage of all, and so they are; for they are essentials of life common to all. A railroad corporation may own a hundred square miles of land in Pennsylvania. It assumes to own the space above its surface as far as Uranus and its surface below it to the center of the earth.

For thousands of years Nature busied herself in forming a concrete of carbon and buried it deep beneath the surface of this tract, that the teeming millions of lives in the far dim ages to come might depend upon it for preservation against the cold.

Nature never intended that a few should monopolize it to the distress of the many. The same rule holds good in all other cases where Nature has provided a common heritage.

Socialism would not take any man's farm from him, but it would make him divide the common heritage which Nature has stored beneath its surface--that is the principle upon which Socialism is based, and if it is not right and just, then I don't know what is wrong.

Socialism declares that steam and street railways, electric lighting, water, telegraph, and telephone systems should be the common property of the people. This demand is so palpably just that no argument need be introduced to prove it.

It demands that they be taken out of the hands of the stock gamblers. It demands that gamblers shall not corner the necessities of life and rob and distress the labor which produces these necessities. It demands a fair and just taxation. It is dead set against imperialism, and that expansion which robs helpless people of their country and degrades them to the subject, and slave.

It is true, that among Socialists, as among Republicans, Christians and Infidels, there are extremists, and these would make a common division of all property; but they do not represent organized Socialism, or interpret its platform. They are insignificantly few, and Socialism is no more responsible for their vagaries than Free-thought is responsible for many of its irresponsible interpreters.

I do not claim that Socialism is all right--that it is the perfect solution of human government.

The imperfections of mankind render a perfect public policy an impossibility. Socialism goes too far in some directions, and not far enough in others. It does not begin to reach the high ideals of government incorporated in the objects of

The National Liberal Party.

But I do claim that Socialism is an outgrowth, a step forward in the evolution of government, a development of the age, and that its success will clear the way for the high ideas which Liberalism would establish.

Not every Free-thinker is a Socialist, but all Socialists are Free-thinkers, and the limit should be regarded--not necessarily a Union in every sense, but let each work out his Liberal principles by the method best suited to his understanding, and work together when it can be done with profit to each.

Liberals by this time should be wise enough to know that they can hope for absolutely no justice or respectability hearing from the Republican or Democratic parties.

Why harp on them, then, then? Why not join the Liberal ranks? There is no common band of sympathy existing between them and us, but there is with Socialism.

Humanity its Basis.

Above all things the Socialist, like the Rationalist, is a humanitarian. Upon that rock we both stand. We may diverge in many directions, but the same guiding principle Humanity, directs us both. This is eminently illustrated in the teachings of Herbert Spencer who is both Agnostic and Socialist.

Suppose some of you do regard Socialism as impracticable. Which do you prefer? The impracticability, which may be rectified by trial and experience, or the rascality of the two old parties which is intensified and increased by trial and experience? I will be asked--"Do you think that Socialism would prove any more honest than Republicanism, if it should attain power?"

This is a fair question, and in reply I say, "Yes," and my reasons for so assuming its superiority is that it is founded on humanitarianism.

It would prove better also, from the nature of evolution. It would be improvement, because it would have the effect of compelling the old parties at least for a time to be honest. It would not be perfect, because parties do not rise very high above human nature; but it would be a step far in advance of Republicanism, as Republicanism is in advance of Imperialism. More than this I do not claim.

Parties and government like everything else are subject to evolution, and are built upon the experience derived from a knowledge of error, and the evil consequences of injustice.

The Competitive System.

It is claimed that the overthrow of the competitive system would destroy individuality, weaken ambition, create mental apathy and sluggishness, and so prove injurious to the progressive spirit.

This is true, if Nature has endowed mankind with but one ambition--that of pursuit of the Almighty Dollar, and the rivalry for its possession, but Nature has provided myriad motives to excite ambition and awaken individuality. The human mind is restless and exuberant. There remains Science, Art, Music, Poetry, Literature in many directions, and the development of the human body.

What higher ambition can man conceive, than that those men and women who are richly endowed by Nature, should lift the ignorant, the sickly, and the badly bred to their level?

But Socialism does not aim at the destruction of the competitive system

as relating to the accumulation of property. It aims only at the destruction of monopolistic greed, and that superiority shall be graded upon the basis of health, genius and morality, instead of upon the dollar. Competition destroys individuality as we have today, destroys the small farmer, and the small merchant, and the small manufacturer, who far outnumber the large ones, and when it creates a condition in which nineteen men are humbly subservient to one man, for the privilege of working at any price the one man may set--what is this but destroying? What takes the heart and soul out of ambition so much, as being driven to the necessity of begging your fellow men for the poor privilege of an opportunity to live? There are two ways you perceive, of looking at this question of competition.

Democracy Degenerating.

In my opinion the government of the United States is in a state of degeneracy and the conditions existing should awaken the serious consideration of every citizen, especially of the retail merchant, the farmer and the mechanic. If the corruption of the ballot is not stopped, and the greed of corporations is not checked--if the few continue to make the laws and gather in all the money, if they very continue to shape legislation, and the masses continue to be crushed to earth, lively times are ahead of us.

When the public conscience becomes so blunted that politicians may openly bribe, and acquire millions, and retain the respect and praise of an abject passive populace, which stands ready at all times to take off its hat to the thief who robs them, Republican government is doomed.

We, the people vote for a county representative. The masses are unaware that even before he is nominated he is bound and gagged with promises. His nomination is dictated by a Congressional or Senatorial appointee, who is too often the agent of the corporations. The plutocrat away off yonder has already put his brand and price upon him. If he misses the corruptionist at home, he cannot escape him in the Legislature.

The Legislator from the country goes up to the State Capital and he is soon the recipient of smiles from the high and mighty ones, banquets and stuffed with cock-tails, and in a short time, a little newspaper talk is started of making him Congressman or Governor, and before he knows it, his head is bigger than a horse collar--they have him.

So general is the scheming and bribing that the really honest man soon finds that he is linked with circumstances and deals which compel him to silence. The result is that a corrupt few shape all legislation and the government of and by the people is being undermined--is becoming oppressive, unstable and degenerate, and rapidly drifting toward the centralization of wealth and imperialism.

The Trusts are the Government.

Trusts are Empire. Business is Caesar. The toil and sweat and blood of the people are being surrendered to the trusts. The trusts are enfranchised with the rights of the people. Lands, roads, banks, light, heat and even the food of the people--these syndicates gamble with. Toil, toil in the solitude of forests; toil, toil in the dangerous mine, in sweatshop and mill, in the blazing sun, and the piercing cold--toil, toil and starve; toil, toil of women by night with the needle, in attics and cellars and squalor, toiling in "poverty, hunger and dirt," with children too hungry to sleep crying around them--it is thus the earnings of toil are massed into millions-- wrung from the aggregate muscle and brain and heart and blood of the people--all of which go to make up the Four Hundred.

Is this America?
When will people begin to realize that there can be no freedom of any kind without economic freedom?

When will they learn that the men who control the money, control the people?

Money, the creature of law, has usurped the rights of creator. The National Senate has become a Dogedom of millionaires. The ship of state has lost its moorings. The great republic has adopted the imperialistic method of applying force to Liberty. It stretches the blood riddled body of the Filipino upon his native soil, and it is thus it gives him freedom.

Is this America?
With the centralization of wealth, has developed the imperialistic sentiment. The rich, surfeited with their ill-earned wealth, reach out for the greedy vanities of old world pomp.

The rich set the fashions--the middle class ape them, and the poor toil and starve in helpless resignation. Mammon is God.

"Hill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
When wealth accumulates and men decay."

We are drifting toward imperialism as fast as we can.

Hill fares a Republic, when it grows indifferent to republican principles, sentiment and dignity; when it sends official representatives to the coronations of Kings, thus recognizing and elevating the principles of monarchial government--a new departure.

Is this America?

The Republican party--that is its leaders--(the voters count nothing)--is dedicated to

Monopoly, Militarism, Expansion and Empire.

The thieves and corruptionists of all parties, I mean the stock-gambling millionaires, have become the fawning flunkies of royalty.

The nation has become the buyers and enslavers of men-- wholesale buyers of men--to work them as raw material for products to vend in the wretched-open markets of Ind and Cathay.

This is the ideal the Fathers attested when signing the Declaration?

Is this America?

We must come to the turning of the road in time. If this nation would